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The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

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There Is No God

BY MARY QUINLAN LAUGHLIN

"There is no God!" that cry sweeps through the world,
With wild anathemas, from tongues afire:
Upon a pompous Christian clan is hurled
The thunders of the masses' long-pent ire.
Beyond their reach, drawn from their sweat and blood,
Are "private," "sacred" heaps of hoarded gold:
While far and near, they flounder in a flood
Of wretchedness, of hunger, want and cold.

"There is no God!" men cry with awful rage,
At sight of priest, that holds the cross aloft,
While surpliced choir and censer swinging page,
Sing songs of Justice, promised men so oft.
Though preachers plead, "Desist for Jesus' Sake,
God saves man's soul, by punishing his clod:"
The mass cry back, "Our sweat and pence ye take—
Your lives belie your words, there is no God!"

"There is no God!" the scarlet woman moans,
When hedged and hounded by her noxious fate:
When forced to feel no price she pays atones—
Although her sin is licensed by the state.
"No God!" she cries, when she is forced to yield
To leprous men that drain the deadly glass.
(Why should her end deserve the potter's field?
While end of theirs demands a requiem Mass?)

"There is no God!" cries prisoner in the dock,
When heavy sentence falls upon his head:
He was not tried for floating watered stock,
He barely stole a needed loaf of bread;
And well he knows, though he may try to keep
Henceforth the laws, (some think so very wise,)
That prison brands will burrow in so deep—
Strive as he will, he never more can rise.

"There is no God!" that cry will never cease,
Until the "Sun of Justice" quickens all:
Until the blood-red flag of love and peace
Will float above where Mammon yet will fall,
And then, ah! then, the Truth that reigns above,
Will sway a Godlike rule, on Earth's fair sod:
Then every heart will be so filled with Love,
No human voice will cry, "There is no God!"

ENVOY.

Oh, brothers mine, that "Sun" may never shine
Upon that darksome road I long have trod,
Still never, never, will those lips of mine
Let fall that wild, false cry, "There is no God!"

The Exact Difference

[The following letter from Rev. Dr. E. J. Helms of the Morgan Memorial M. E. Church, Boston, was intended for the Conference at Pittsburg, but was missent and did not reach us till May 25. It is too good to grow stale. It hits the nail squarely on the head and clearly answers a question that seems to worry some folks both in the Church and in the Socialist party.—E. E. C.]

Dear Sir and Brother—I regret that other pressing duties prevent my attendance upon your convention in Pittsburg.

Convey my greetings to the earnest and unselfish men and women there assembled. In them and their like I see the better day brought near.

In a book recently issued by a brother minister I find a protest against using the name "Christian Socialist." "Socialism being an economic and political theory, it is as incongruous to speak of 'Christian Socialism,' as it would be to speak of 'Christian Republicanism' or 'Christian Democracy,'" he says.

I am one who has voted the Republican and Democratic tickets in years past. Because I saw the Christianity of Jesus would not harmonize with the obeisance of the Republican party to privileged classes and interests, I left the Republican party that I might follow into political activity the teachings of the Carpenter of Nazareth.

Likewise when I saw that the Christianity of Jesus was at variance with the undemocratic practices of the Democratic party south and north, I ceased voting the Democratic ticket in order that I might be true to the teachings of Jesus at the polls.

Because I find the principles and practices of the Socialist party so thoroughly in accord with the teachings of Jesus, it gives me great joy to vote the Socialist ticket.

In other words, I am a Socialist because I am trying to be a consistent Christian. I have no quarrel with any man who puts it the other way, and is trying to be a Christian by being an orthodox Socialist.

I believe, when the church becomes thoroughly Christian, it will understand Socialism. The church, or organised Christianity, I believe, will be a great factor in bringing in a triumphant Socialism. Why should I not work and pray for a Socialism that is Christian as much as I work and pray for a church that is Christian?

I am glad to enroll under your name of a "Christian Socialist."

E. J. Helms.

Socialism and Liberty

An Address Delivered by Rev. W. D. P. Bliss at the Christian Socialist Fellowship Conference in Pittsburg, April 22, 1910

While neither Liberty nor Socialism can be put into a phrase, definitions help.

Liberty especially needs definition, and particularly in America. It is often identified with license, or a lack of law. It is in this sense of liberty that Plato said that from excessive liberty tyranny springs as inevitably as a tree from its roots. We are learning to-day in America that Plato was right. We have the tyranny of trusts and capital largely from lack of law in the control of capital. But liberty is not license; it is the opportunity for the individual to develop his own life, to think his own thoughts, to dream his own dreams, to do his own deeds—to be himself.

Socialism, too, needs definition. It is often confounded with anarchy, its exact opposite, or with paternalism and bureaucracy, which all Socialists oppose. Bebel long ago declared that upon the adoption of Socialism, government, as we know it to-day, would disappear, and be replaced by a self-organization of the people. The French Socialists vote "no" on the proposition to nationalize the land, until they have in France more than a Bourgeoisie government. In America we are somewhat in danger of nationalizing, or municipalizing, public utilities before the people are really in control of the government. It is not among the impossibilities of the future that railroad capitalists may take advantage of the movement for Public Ownership, and sell railroads to the Government at a high price, and then see to it that they themselves are the Government. Socialism is by no means such expansion of government. Socialism is essentially and fundamentally fraternal. It does not believe in what we have to-day in America,—government of the trusts, for the trusts, and by the trusts,—but only in Lincoln's government of the PEOPLE, for the PEOPLE, and by the PEOPLE. Only when we have such a government would it expand the functions of government.

Socialism Defined

Socialism may be defined as the ownership of land and capital by the community colectively organized and their operation co-operatively for the equitable good of all.

Socialism is essentially evolutionary, although a true evolution will imply revolutionary changes, and may imply revolutionary crises. Evolution is the only real revolution. Socialism stands for education, and can only come through education, but if the possessing classes refuse to be educated, or to obey laws adopted by Socialists legally elected to legislatures, these possessing classes may appeal to force, and bring in an armed conflict. Socialism certainly believes in a revolutionary change, abolishing the whole wage system, but it believes that this change will be made step by step. In order to gain this gradual advance, however, it is not necessary to vote for parties of gradual reform. If Socialists stand together, and vote for their uncompromised ideals, other parties will introduce gradual reforms, even before Socialism can win. GERMANY LEADS TO-DAY IN EVOLUTIONARY REFORM EXACTLY BECAUSE SHE LEADS IN A CLASS-CONSCIOUS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY. Great Britain is taking giant strides towards Socialism exactly because there is a great class-conscious independent Labor Party in the United Kingdom. Socialism is a class-conscious movement, not because it favors or desires classes, but because it recognizes facts, and knows that there ARE class divisions, and does not desire to cry a meaningless peace, peace, when there is no peace. It does not believe there ought to be peace under conditions where children work in mills, where women are under-paid and over-worked, where men are better paid, but often can find no work to do, where families are threatened in their economic basis and home life is made impossible in over-crowded tenements. Socialism is the rising of the working classes of the world in a law-abiding, political movement to establish the co-operative commonwealth.

So, defining Liberty and Socialism, it is our contention this evening that only under Socialism can the individual find liberty. Under the present system, there is little or no opportunity for millions of people—sometimes even less opportunity for the business man and the employer than for the worker and artisan. We will find our proof of this not in theories, but in well established facts.

American Individualism

America is the greatest individualistic country of the world. The United States gained her independence, framed her constitution and formed her national ethos at a period when individualism was in its first flush. Adam Smith in economics, and Rosseau in political science, were largely the godparents of the United States. This meant progress. When the United States was born, individualism was necessary to break up the paternal tyranny of old governmental regimes. Adam Smith was as truly a reformer in his day as Karl Marx in ours. America led the world economically and politically in the new life she developed. The United States may be said to be the greatest eighteenth century country of the world. Because of this, she has gone farther in individualism than any other nation. Ours is the only country that has no form of government railroads, government telegraph, or telephone. Great Britain has no government railroads, but the British Empire has many of them. Our government does fewer things than any other great country of the world. Our forefathers believed that that is the best government which governs least. It was with the greatest difficulty that Hamilton and Washington induced the sovereign states to ratify the Federal Constitution at all. Ohio once very nearly voted to have no public schools, on the ground that that would militate against the right of the individual to remain ignorant, if he wished to. We have, as a nation, despised and minimized government, and have exalted the power of individuals combined into corporations, and consolidated into trusts. In other countries, government controls the corporations; in America, the corporations control the government.

Now, has this meant opportunity for the individual? What are the facts? People are not equal in ability. The result, and the necessary result, therefore, of economic competition, is, and must be, the coming to the front of those who are economically the strongest, shrewdest and ablest. Morals aid ability to a certain extent, and at least in small economics it pays to be honest. John Stewart Mill said thirty years ago: "If persons are helped in their worldly career by their virtues, so are they, and perhaps quite as often, by their vices,—by servility and sycophancy, by hard-hearted and close-fisted selfishness, by the permitted lies and tricks of trade, by gambling and speculation, not seldom by downright knavery. * * * The connection between fortune and conduct is mainly this, that there is a degree of bad conduct, or rather of some kinds of bad conduct, which suffices to ruin any amount of good fortune; but the converse is not true; in the situation of most people, no degree whatever of good conduct can be counted upon for raising them in the world without the aid of fortunate accidents." Thus, in competition the strongest and ablest forge to the front with little regard to morals.

This being so, when the few strongest and ablest in any line of industry have come to the front, they find that further competition between them is suicidal, and combination results, first as corporations, and later as combinations and trusts. No legislation can prevent this, with competition as its basis. It has been attempted by every state legislature in the United States, as well as by the Federal Government; yet trusts to-day are more strongly entrenched than ever in our economic history. America is the most trust-ridden country in the world.

Purchasers Not Free

What is the result upon the individual? Has he opportunity? Take it in economics. We sometimes think that economically the employer has less opportunity of self-expression than the working man. No employer can pay what wages he would. No matter how moral, how benevolent, how Christian he may be, under competition he can pay no more than the market wage for a given quality of work. If he does pay more than the market wage, he must go out of business. The reason for this is that he must depend upon his purchasers, and purchasers are not free to buy where they will. Women are the typical purchasers of America. It is not the purchases of the millionaires, but the purchases of the millions that make the market. Now, the average woman does not have enough money to spend to meet the mental, moral and physical needs of the family. At least ten millions of our people have scarcely enough to meet their economic needs, while many millions more have not enough to meet social and higher needs. The result is, that, moved by her mother-love, the mother purchases, and must purchase, where she can buy cheapest a given quality of goods, and be tempted, even, to sacrifice quality, if she can buy cheap. The result is that competition takes the mother-love, the divinest love of earth, and with it drives the average mother to the bargain counter and the department store. The garments may be made in sweatshops, and carry with them germs of disease, but the mother, who has not enough money to buy the clothes that Mary needs for school, or that John needs to go to work, will nevertheless buy, and must buy, where she can buy the cheapest. The employer must, therefore, sell cheap. Consequently those well-meaning but uninformed clergymen, who merely tell the employer that he ought to pay higher wages, are talking impossible ignorance. So, too, with the pious assertion that we do not need Socialism because Christianity is sufficient; that all we need to do is not to bring in any economic system of any kind, new or old, but simply to convert everybody to Christ, because if every individual would but do Christ's will, all social evils would be cured. This last is but an ignorant or deliberate playing with words. It dodges the real question, which is, what *is* Christ's will? Is it Christ's will that we compete, each for self, or form combinations of individuals to control trade? If it is not, then doing Christ's will means changing a system based on competition to one based on brotherhood, and this is Socialism. To say that we do not need Socialism because Christianity is sufficient, is like saying that we do not need to practice the Golden Rule, because if practiced it would cure all ills. The question is how to practice it. Until, under competition, men can pay what wages they would, and avoid economic laws, it is simply logomachy to tell them they ought to be Christians, but have no need to change an unchristian system. Jesus Christ never so played with words. He never merely told the individual to repent. He said: "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." He ever married the social and the individual gospel. He told the individual, indeed, to repent; but in the same sentence He spoke of the social kingdom, involving an organization and an environment in which it is possible to live the life of repentance. To-day, without such organization of society, the practical man of business finds that he cannot live up to his ideals, cannot realize the Golden Rule, and hence largely stays away from church, making no profession of an ideal he considers impracticable. Jesus Christ was the most manly man that ever lived; yet Christianity has become largely a religion of women, mainly because modern Christians have ignored Christ's social message, and men find that under individualism they cannot be consistent Christians.

How Wages Are Reduced

But let us see further what competition means. In order to sell cheap, the employer must employ the lowest paid labor that can produce a given quality of work. To an extent it is true that high wages are cheap wages, but this has many modifications. Measured by what they produce, American workmen are probably the poorest paid in the world, yet machinery and invention are continually enabling poorly paid labor to replace skilled labor. In most branches of production the tendency is to have a few very highly paid skilled artisans, or foremen, with large numbers of poorly paid, unskilled men, women or children. Where employers can employ children they must, unless government steps in and forbids. Under the golden dome of the capital of Massachusetts we once heard a manufacturer say that child labor was the key to dividends in Massachusetts, and we added, "God save the commonwealth of Massachusetts!" Under competition, too, where women can do the work, employers must employ women. Woman's chief economic asset is that she can and will work cheap. She can because, usually speaking, woman's wage is a supplementary wage, supplementing the wage of some husband, or father, or brother. On this combined wage the family lives. This fact controls woman's average wage, and those women who have no husband, or father, or brother, can still only get the supplementary wage, although there is nothing to supplement. Increasingly is machinery enabling the white fingers and the tense nerves of the under-paid woman or girl to do the work formerly done by skilled men. In some factories, such as cotton factories, it is true that there are now more men than formerly, proportionately, to women, but chiefly because unskilled men from Europe are competing with women at women's wages. Competition thus replaces the married man by the single man, the single man by the woman, the woman by the child, in a wild race to cheapen production in order to meet the market. This makes it increasingly difficult for a man to support a wife, and increases the number of women who can earn and live without marriage. In America the family seems going, and marriage passing out of fashion, for many becoming impossible.

To an extent the organization of labor, trade unionism, checks this competition, but only temporarily. Where the organization of labor becomes too strong, capital sees to it that the trade unions, if possible, are broken up. We are told that in Pittsburg and vicinity, in the great steel industry, the organization of labor has gone down in ten years from 100,000 to 10,000. In those cases where trade unions can remain strong, there results either a struggle between organized labor and organized capital, in which the community often suffers paralysis, or a combination between capital and labor, ignoring the interests of the community. Socialism does and should favor trade unionism wherever possible, for trade unions are America's best schools in democracy, and are the only mainstay of American wages till Socialism comes.

Trusts Destroy Liberty

These evils of competition have, as we say, developed the trust. Yet under the trust there is no more liberty than under competition. We are told on high authority that seven men to-day can control American business, and that men like Morgan and Rockefeller have more power than the president, or any potentate of Europe. We know of a city in the Middle West where "a free American" conducted a beef business. He was "independent," but representatives of the Beef Trust came to him and invited him to enter the trust. He declined; he was "a free American," and believed in competition, each for self. They came to him again, offering inducements, and then threats; he could make more money by entering the trust. But this did not move him. He did not care to be a millionaire, he was making a fair income, and preferred to be independent. They then showed him a lot of ground next to his, and said that they would put up a rival establishment to his, and sell beef cheaper than he could buy it. When they had ruined him, they would put up the price to recoup themselves. He knew they could and would do this, so the "free American" entered the beef trust. It is not always as simple or as direct as this, but from Portland, Maine, to Portland, Oregon, trusts are saying to men, "Take down your sign and put up your shutters, or enter into the trust."

If employers are not free to-day, employes are often the slaves of slaves. What chance has one workman against a gigantic corporation, or a railroad that rules from sea to sea? In America to-day, the individual counts for less and less, and our boasted freedom is a myth.

Political Freedom a Farce

This economic lack of freedom leads more or less to lack of freedom in every branch of life. In politics are we free? I know of an employer who, in a recent election, said to his employes: "If one candidate is elected, we will raise your wages; if the other candidate is elected, we close the shop; *this is a free country—you can vote exactly as you please.*"

What opportunity for the individual has any man under the freest constitution, if he has no bread for himself or his family, no home where he can sleep at night? Political freedom without economic freedom is a ghastly farce, and often simply a lie with which to deceive the multitude. In Washington we are ruled by Senator Aldrich and "Uncle Joe;" in our cities we are ruled by an unholy alliance between the corporations and the saloon—by corporations which desire to purchase legislation, or exemption from legislation, and representatives of the saloons and party bosses, elected in order to sell the legislation. We at times uncover graft, and drive out the grafters, *but we maintain the unholy system which produces the graft.* We despise government, and exalt corporations. We make it almost impossible for big men and honest men to do things big and clean in politics; we give every inducement to evil men to sell legislation to the corporations, and then wonder that we have corrupt politics. Here again the individual withers, and the boss grows more and more. Do we realize that America is the only great country in the world which has no representatives of the working classes in her national legislature? Germany has 43, France 55, Austria 87, Belgium 30, Great Britain 45, Finland 80, Italy 25; Australia is ruled by them. The United States has none.

The Public Press Enslaved

Have we freedom of the press? Thirty years ago brave John Swinton declared that there was no such thing. To-day, in order to sell a paper at one cent, hundreds of thousands of copies must be sold. To attain such a circulation requires capital. Usually speaking, it takes a millionaire to publish a penny paper. The result is that the ordinary city press is, and must be, under the control of money, and money can censor a paper as truly as any autocrat of Europe. Money controls the collection and distribution of news. America is the only country in the world where corporations control the telegraph.

So is it in other matters. What opportunity has the individual, struggling for bread and butter, to develop the higher life in art, in learning, in letters? American workingmen make inventions, but only to sell them to their capitalist employers, who sometimes use them and sometimes do not, but give little or no encouragement to the inventor. In art, we have even less opportunity. For sculpture we go to the land of the despised Dago; for song, we import song birds from Hungary or Bohemia; in science, in almost every line, we have to read a German book. I crossed the ocean the other day with a young business man who went from Canada to Germany every few years to buy printing machinery. Germany is forging ahead, while in America opportunity is increasingly controlled by money.

Morals Merchandized

It is so often in morals. America probably leads the world in popular education; our public schools are the one great socialistic thing in America—the supreme place where individualism does not rule. Our churches are at least as well attended as those of Europe, and religion is probably more influential in America than across the ocean. American home life is sweeter and purer, and in spite of divorces, marriage is, we believe, more moral in the United States than beside the Thames, the Seine, or the Rhine. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, in the extent of public corruption we exceed any other civilized country, and the wild lust for gold makes us think more and more of earthly things, and less and less of heavenly. Rich churchmen tell us we should not think of such a material thing as money; but if they thought enough about it to apply the Golden Rule it would be better. They do not forget to collect our rents, nor to take the surplus profit from our workers. They bid us lift up holy hands in prayer, *but when our hands are held up they go through our pockets.* Trinity Church probably does more harm in New York City than Tammany. Tammany paints New York red; but Trinity Church paints white black. It bears the name of Christ, and makes it stand for unsanitary and unholy tenements. She hires lawyers to tell us that the number of her poor tenements has been exaggerated, and that her leases prevent her from doing what she would with those tenements; but the richest church corporation in the world could at least throw up leases where she gets money for ruining lives. The richest church corporation in the world will not stand guiltless at the bar of the Judgment Day, when Christ says, "Inasmuch as ye have not done it unto the least of these, ye have not done it unto me." Gold paralyzes our churches, stops the mouths of clergymen, buys the influence of bishops, uses the sanctuary as a Bastile for wealth, drives girls on the streets, blasts child-life in the tenements, purchases journalists in their offices, legislators at our capitols; makes the profession of the law, generally speaking, a scramble to serve corporate wealth and protect it in violating law. In the mad rush for gold, there is often little chance to be heavenly, often little opportunity to be good.

Opportunities of Socialism

What opportunity would Socialism give the individual? Here again we will refer to facts. The greatest socialistic thing in America is, we have said, the public school. Here is the one place where the poor boy and the rich have equal opportunity, where often the poor boy, devoted to his books, has a greater opportunity than the boy of wealth distracted by a thousand pleasures. Shakespeare is as great in the parlor of the flat as in a palace on Fifth avenue. Education is the one great thing that is giving men opportunity in America.

The next great socialistic thing in America is the government postoffice. Do we realise what the postoffice and cheap postal rates, especially on second-class mail matter, mean in opportunity for the country? It makes it possible for the farmer in the scattered hamlet to receive the "CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST," and the educational magazine; it carries a book across the continent as cheaply as across the county. To send a telegram of any length from New York to California costs $1; to send a letter costs 2 cents. Yet the actual cost of service for the letter is greater than for the telegram. The postoffice does its work for the people's good; the corporation works for its own pocket. We are told that the United States postoffice has a deficit, but this is mainly because the railroads outrageously overcharge the government for carrying the mails. They often charge more for the rent of postal cars each year than the cost of building the cars. They rob the government right and left, and then say that there is a deficit. When you find a thief's hand in your pocket, there usually is a deficit. If the Government could carry mail at cost; *if the express companies would allow the postoffice to carry parcels* as is done in every other country, the Government would have a revenue rather than a deficit in its postal service.

What Made Athens Great

Ancient Athens under Pericles may be called the most socialistic city of the world,—at least so far as its free citizens went. How socialistic it was, we shall see in a moment; but let us consider first what opportunity, what individuality it produced. Francis Galton, one of the highest authorities in anthropological science, asserts that the average ability of the Athenian race was about as much above that of the English race as that race is above the African negro, while J. A. Symonds, of the highest standing in art, says that the Athenian was as superior to the Anglo-Saxon as that race is to the Australian bushman. These are very strong statements, even if half true; but what individualities Athens produced—Plato, Aristotle, Socrates; surely in the history of thought there are no greater names than these. In the drama, Aeschylus, the divine; Sophocles, the kingly; Euripides, the human; Aristophanes, the father of laughter,—here are the founders of the world's drama. In history, Thucydides has, perhaps, no rival; in sculpture, Phidias and Praxiteles stand supreme; in architecture, the builders of the Parthenon and of the Propylaea produced works that modern science cannot even copy. In oratory, every school boy knows of Demosthenes, every college boy of Aeschines. In statesmanship, Pericles, Themistocles and Miltiades, the hero of Marathon, can never be forgotten. These are but a few of the great names of Athens. Yet notice that all these great names appeared in the 150 years between the Battle of Marathon and the Battle of Chaeronea. Apart from these 150 years, Athens produced nearly nothing. Why this outburst of unequaled genius? The cause was not in race, because the Ionic race existed for far more than these 150 years, and peopled many cities besides Athens with no such result. The cause was not in climate; that cli[illegible] still endures; still

> "The mountains look on Mar[illegible]
> And Marathon looks on the se[illegible]

but they guard to-day only the ruins of the Parthenon, and of the academies of Plato and Aristotle. Some have thought that the slave basis of Athens enabled her free citizens to devote themselves to the higher life; but many cities besides Athens had such a slave basis with no such development. What was there peculiar in Athens in these 150 years? *It was the fact that Athens at this exact time, and only at this time, guaranteed to her free citizens economic support.* We are told on the best authority that Athens, under Pericles, gave to any free citizen who would do a little jury duty in the city, money enough to support himself and family in respectability, according to the standard of the day. "This was," Mahaffy says, "the income on which most of the poorer citizens lived." This was given, not in charity, like the *panis et circus* of the Roman Imperialism, but in justice, in payment for work done. Athens was not paternal, but fiercely democratic.

Thucydides makes Pericles say that her government was committed, not to the few, but to the whole body of the people. *The city gave to each according to his need.* The money that made this possible was also gained in socialistic ways, by the ownership of the silver mines at Laurium; by municipally owned and leased land and houses and markets. She was thus, to a very large extent, during this period, a truly socialistic city, and hence her individuality. *No Athenian was compelled to hustle for a living;* he could live for money if he wished to; some did, mainly slaves. Her bankers were largely slaves. *Athens' "four hundred" represented art, and literature, and philosophy.* Guaranteed an economic basis, her citizens were free to compete for the most perfect art, the greatest plays, to discuss and develop the deepest philosophy. Her socialism thus meant OPPORTUNITY.

Christian Morals Needed

But her socialism did not last. It had no moral basis. Greece herself was not socialistic, but at best a loose federation of competing republics. For an enduring Socialism, it is necessary to have a moral basis. Hence, Christian Socialism.

Christian Socialism, so far as Socialism goes, is not different from any other Socialism; only Christian Socialists believe also in Christ. The world needs eminently to-day the teaching of environment, the doctrine of determinism; yet a physical environment is not all. *An eternal life demands an eternal environment.* Only by keeping in touch with God can we eternally keep in touch with man. The church has understood neither her social duty nor her social opportunity. We have written over the prayer meeting, "Give up all politics, all ye that enter here," and over the caucus, "Give up all religion, all ye that enter here." We have divorced Church and State, which is right; but have also divorced God and politics, which is sin. We need a Christian life, lived in brotherhood. Socialism is Christianity applied. Christ never had its individual compete; He said: "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, take up his cross and follow me." This is the foundation of liberty. They who lose their life find it.

The French Revolution stood for liberty, but sought it by seeking merely individual freedom; over the churches of Paris we still read the words, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite." Did France find liberty? For liberty, she got Napoleon, and later a Bourgeois republic; for equality she developed cynicism; for fraternity, Paris lust. In America, we have aimed, too, at liberty, equality, fraternity, but by putting individual liberty first. Have we gained liberty? For liberty we have John Pierrepont Morgan and Senator Aldrich; for equality we have millions of very poor and more millionaires than anywhere else in the world; for fraternity we are developing a class struggle greater, perhaps, than the world has yet seen. What we need to do, is, not to begin with liberty, but to begin with fraternity. Liberty will not lead to fraternity, but fraternity will lead to liberty. We must have the fraternity of man under the fatherhood of God. Then we shall have the equality, not of the matching pennies of equal incomes, but the vital equality of the home, where the baby is king, and where the strong serve the weak. Then we shall have true liberty—the opportunity for the individual to be himself—a revival of learning, a Renaissance in art, a reformation in morals and in religion.

Rev. Wm. H. Randall

Rev. William H. Randall, who died at Riverside, Cal., on March 13, was a native of Mystic, Conn., and a graduate of Brown University in 1861 and later studied at Newton. At first a teacher, he was ordained a minister of the Baptist church in 1874, and served in New England as pastor of the Windsor Avenue Church, Hartford, Conn., the Central Church, Thompson, Conn.; Saxton's River, Vt.; then in Penryn, Auburn, and South Riverside, Cal. His wife and one son survive him. The funeral service was held at the First Baptist Church, Riverside, Cal., on March 15, his pastor, Dr. George F. Holt and Rev. E. T. Sandford, a long-time friend, taking part.

A man of broad sympathies, a careful student, he was deeply interested in everything that affected the welfare of his fellowmen and faithful to deep convictions and high ideals.

Comrade Randall was for many years an ardent Socialist. He was the author of "The Golden Rule Republic—No Utopia," which he and Comrade Rufus W. Weeks together gave to the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. It is a clear explanation of how things will work under Socialism and answers most of the questions inquirers are apt to ask. He was greatly interested in this paper.

Comrade Randall had been unwell for a long time and passed away quietly in his sleep, as he had often expressed the wish to do.

We glory in the comradeship of such men living and in the memory of such men dead. Yet we are sure that he yet lives, and that from the other side he will watch eagerly our activities for the success of Socialism, help in many ways we know not of, and rejoice greatly when the victory comes.

Socialists, even under Socialism, must die; and greater than all earthly dreams is the hope of personal immortality.

FRANCES E. WILLARD'S VIEWS ON SOCIALISM. Compiled by Rev. J. H. Hollingsworth. New edition. Unexcelled for completeness and cheapness. 2 copies 5c, 5 for 10c, 50 for 60c, 100 for $1.00.

"Personal Liberty" and the Labor Movement

Brother O'Leary Triumphantly Discusses the Liquor Men's Resolution in the Central Trades and Labor Council

Resolved, That we pledge ourselves and the organization to the support of those candidates at this election who will pledge themselves to a personal liberty program in the Legislature.

"Mr. President."

President—"Brother O'Leary of the I. T. U."

O'Leary—"Mr. President and brothers of the Central Trades Council.

"The resolution before us presented by the delegate of the Coopers' Union is one that demands the most careful consideration. As you know, I am not one used to compromise or halting in anything that favors the cause of union labor. An association of more than twenty years has made me tolerably familiar with its objects, and the position accorded me by my union in national affairs has forced me to study conditions in a very broad way.

"I have nothing but the highest praise for the unions in the brewing industry. They have been in the forefront of every fight for better conditions. Their organization, their solidarity, has been remarkable. Their institutions for the care of their own unfortunate members are admirable and worthy of emulation. To their intelligent and farseeing comradeship very many of us owe our awakening to the evils that beset the workingmen in this country, and by their example and practical politics they are showing us how to gain the rights we have lost in the last ten years; yes, and how to get in the future that complete justice the working men desire. But these unions are up against it bad. They have lost their membership by the thousands, not through desertions, but by a determination on the part of the great mass of the citizenship of this country, voting through local option and prohibitory laws against the licensing of saloons, that the traffic shall stop. Whatever the animus of the members of the Anti-Saloon League, it would be powerless if it were not supported by the votes of the people. Just think, there have been about 26,000 saloons abolished in the last two years. Forty million people are now living in this country in anti-saloon territory.

"The reasons for this show of public opinion are not hard to find. First and foremost is the interference with the retail trade by the manufacturer and brewer, by which great numbers of saloons are practically owned by them, and the retailer made a hired man. A hired man, too, under conditions so incredibly slavish and burdensome that the income from the legitimate function of distribution has to be eked out by all sorts of tricks and devices, all sorts of alliance with crime and the evil habits and desires of mankind, all sorts of combinations with dirty politics for protection on one hand and graft on the other. The masters of this industry controlling through the retail dealers the votes of a certain element of our citizens, make common cause with the political machines of both parties and the plutocratic exploiters of other industries and so get laws passed that enable them to wield the lash over their employes. They can change at their pleasure the licenses they hold from place to place or person to person, and thus compel an obedience to their demands. The licensing power, be it board or judge, always obeys their orders. The whole system is rotten.

"Another reason is the general enlightening of the people. I don't drink beer because it is a food. I don't care whether it is or not, but I do know that I can get along without it, and that I am better fit for my work in the shop and for the union when I don't drink. If I had anything to do with a strike the first thing I should say would be 'Cut out the booze,' and you would all expect me to say it.

"I don't care about the statistics concerning insane asylums or police or taxes. They cut a figure that frightens the taxpayers, the property owner. I guess the most of us pay precious little tax. What we earn is so fully taken by the spread eagle prices of things to eat and shoes for the children that there isn't anything to levy tax on. You need not laugh. Of course, I know that all tax enters into the prices of what we buy, whether it's lodging or food or clothes; but the trust exploiters take all there is, anyhow.

"I want you to look at this thing in a broad way. There are reasons why this resolution committing us to the 'support of those candidates on the tickets who will pledge themselves to a personal liberty program in the Legislature' should be carefully considered. One of them is that it lines up the voters on a weak and false issue. Do I want to ignore all the important things before us that I may help some brewer fill his bank account? Over in Connecticut recently an employing hatter sued all the members of a trade union individually, attached their savings bank accounts, their homes, their furniture, anything that he could get track of, for damages caused his business by a strike and boycott the union started against him. The employer won the suit. The jury awarded him about $70,000, which, under the terms of the law, was trebled, and so the verdict will be with costs and damages about $250,000, and the strikers must pay this or go to prison. What's that?"

The President—"The Brother has already taken up the full time allowed."

"Mr. President."

The President—"The delegate of the Hatter's Union."

"Mr. President: As we are under the Good and Welfare, and this is the last on the file, I move that Brother O'Leary be granted the time and that we adjourn on the conclusion of this business. I'm interested in this."

Various Voices—"I second." "I second."

The President—"You've heard the motion. Is there any objection? Go ahead, Brother O'Leary."

O'Leary—"I want organized labor to find some way to vote against this damnable law that outrages the first principle of human liberty. I consider the injustice of the sentence that will send Mitchell and Gompers to prison. I consider the long list of injunction made laws for which there is no warrant in the constitution of the land, and I object with all my might against this resolution that seeks to chain me to the chariot wheels of the brewers and liquor manufacturers. I want to do something with my vote against these wrongs.

"The political power that the brewers and the liquor manufacturers wield is always supplemented by the combined power of the two party organization and by the owners and managers of corporate capital. Why? *Because Local Option is a phase of self government.* It involves the use of initiative and referendum and educates the people to regard *themselves* as supreme. Instead of bowing down before the authority of their elected rulers and judges, they will insist more and more on their right to review their acts as *servants* and to decree laws themselves. This is a tendency dangerous to the special interests and to the employing class everywhere and one the people will not be allowed to enter upon. To prevent it the utmost power of the capitalistically owned courts, legislatures and government is exercised. Shall we line up in opposition also? Shall Union Labor be false to one of its main demands?

"Brothers, I realize fully what the enactment of local option laws mean to the unions of the brewing industry. Their loss is, however, not an absolute one. There is hope for them in an economic fact, even under the present system. Because the money spent for intoxicants represents lesswork than that in any other line of industry. So when the expenditure for liquor is cut off the money used elsewhere will make much more labor necessary. In other organizations and unions we shall feel the inspiration of their presence and the stimulus of their counsel.

"Yet I make this plea with a note of unspeakable regret in my heart. They have so built themselves into the structure of unionism, they have been so efficient and loyal, always on the fighting line, that to view their losses, to see their number cut down in such an appalling fashion, fills us with dismay. They have been always good teachers and guides, and quick themselves to learn from the industrial revolution its lessons, and I might take just a few minutes more and explain to you a section from that evolutionary philosophy, which they are such ardent propagandists of."

"Go on." "Go on, Bill."

"There is no less poverty in the world to-day nor will there be less even though drinking be abolished. If poverty was the result of drinking, there would be a great deal less of poverty now, for at no time in the past has there been less drinking than now, for hard drinking at one time was universal. There is more poverty now than ever before and it is caused now as always by the exactions of the exploiting classes who live upon the labor of their fellow men.

"We do know that the hard conditions of life, its exacting toil, the wretched home, the lack of hope for the future, are the promoters of intemperance, and because this is so, because the lumpen-proletariat as our German brothers term the down and out through drink, are no help to us, but always the scabs, the traitors to the cause of labor. We look with a good deal of interest at the progress of the 'drys' and would not stop it if we could; for this mass of sodden humanity is a hindrance to our advance. They are a controlling factor in beating down wages and they will be found in the future the purchasable allies of the class that exploits labor. The European labor leaders, the Socialists, know this by hard experience.

"I tell you that if our brains had been clear and our senses alert something would have happened in this country when Gompers and Mitchell and Morrison were found guilty of crime when there was no crime. The Danbury case is a dreadful outrage. It should have made the workers drop their tools and leap to their feet with indignation. Why did it not? DOPE: From the saloon as well as from civic associations.

"Mankind is not growing worse but better. Evolution tends ever to higher and higher forms and to a completeness of social life. Just as the warrior of old found it was better for him to save alive the captive and make him work as a slave than to kill and eat him and thereby worked an economic change, so the desire for better things still works changes, and is at the bottom of this anti-saloon campaign. The economic pressure is now as hard upon us as it ever was and the desire for a better life stronger than ever.

"There are no golden ages in the past for the working class. They lie before us and the highest type of mankind is still to be developed. At no time in history has the working man been so well informed, so conscious of his powers and his needs and so ready for united action that shall finally free him from his peonage.

"It stands to the credit of unionism that better conditions have brought about better men, vast numbers of whom do not drink or drink very temperately. In the irony of fate the members of the exploiting classes in working for the elimination of the drink are insensibly preparing the way for their own downfall as exploiters.

"For, look you, the sober man, able to see and consider the incongruities of our industrial system, where the workers build the palaces and live in shambles, where they produce abundance and live on the border line of starvation, where they clothe the world and go ragged, this man, I say, sober and with brain power and nerve and strength will be a discontented man. This man will make a new world.

"But it is not a fight with clubs. The breakdown in the industrial system which makes a change for the better possible must be studied. The weapons are of the mind, of the intellect. The Public Library of Topeka, Kan., had over 1,200 books in it on the subject, and the University of Wisconsin has even more. Whether you will or not you've got to go through and end this struggle. Therefore, help, not hinder, this anti-booze battle.

"This, then, is true. That the fighting strength of unionism has been, and will be, greatly augmented by temperance habits, and as the progress goes on our forces will become invincible. The manhood and strength and courage of labor freed from the clouded brain, the palsied hand and the babbling tongue will find themselves and labor will come to its own. You know that. I know that and the bosses, political and industrial, know that, and therefore we see the alliance of all the powers of Legislature, Courts and Government against this beginning of self government.

"So I rejoice that the race unconsciously is making ready its men for the final struggle against tyranny and oppression, that in the great victory to come, there shall be soberness and strength and life and joy, not hatred, not death, not war, but forevermore, peace and plenty.

"Don't tie your hands by this resolution, brothers." (Great applause.)

The President—"There is nothing before us but this resolution."

Cries of "Question." "Question."

The President—"All in favor of the adoption of this resolution say 'Aye.'"

Not a vote is heard.

The President—"All opposed to it."

Delegates all shout "No."

The President—"The resolution is lost by unanimous vote. The meeting stands adjourned."

Christian Fellowship Is Social Comradeship

A Declaration of Christian Fellowship for the Propagation of Scientific Socialism

BY REGINALD FENTON, CORONADO, CALIF.

It being self-evident FACT that all mankind are mutually dependent upon one another, and that the subsistence of the bodily life of each and every one depends upon products of the Common Earth upon the surface of which we dwell, reaped and prepared for use by the labor of mankind; which products universally are evolved through earth and sea and air by a purposing and intelligent Power not Ourselves:

We confess our absolute initial dependence upon that Power; and thus "knowing" Him, we glorify Him as "GOD," Personal and Real, and are thankful.

We accept the historic Jesus of Nazareth as the "Messiah," the personal Messenger of Divine God.

We are rationally convinced that the "scientific" principles of rightly-adjusted Societary Order and Civil Law, (the most practical and common sense method and means for organizing and applying our inescapable state of mutual inderdependence for the economic necessities, the comforts, and the conveniences of our body and estate) are those which ordinary, unbiased common sense—if searching with an open mind—may perceive to be the governing principles for human life on earth, which are laid down in the Messianic Message of that same Jesus as recorded in "The New Testament of Jesus Christ," than which no better authenticated historical writings upon any subject exist.

We believe that if these principles were "scientifically" organized and applied to the solution of the Economic Problem of Daily Human Life, for the daily satistaction of the NECESSITIES (in mind, body, and estate) of mankind in this present world of physical existence, applied by the now splendidly enlightened intelligence of mankind, through the physical means of this Age of Machinery and Concerted Organization of human Effort, the prompt effect would be universal sufficiency of satisfactions, universal societary peace, and universal personal happiness, in proportion as each individual should, in perfect freedom of sane choice, dispose himself or herself to use and enjoy the same. In other words that that Kingdom of the Heavens upon Earth, of which The New Testament of Jesus Christ is the express promise and documentary propaganda, would be realized and "the promises of the gospel" would thereby be physically fulfilled.

Now therefore: We who thus profess and call ourselves "Christians," declare it as our conviction that it is the DUTY and the PRIVILEGE of all professing Christians, and especially of those who minister to any congregation of "religious" persons, in the light of modern knowledge:

I.

To live a life of bold and open protest against the "principle" of ECONOMIC PRIVILEGE and its form of "common-law," the Institution of Private Property applied to the facts of life by means of the present Organic System of the Capitalization of Property and the Competitive mode of Commerce. Which "system" is in direct antagonism to sane human common sense, throws out of gear all efforts for the Common Good, is in every point and detail contrary to the principles of "the gospel of Christ," and has *in dreadful fact and deed* destroyed all true "religion" from out of the "economics" of the daily life of mankind.

As against this world-wide throned ANTICHRIST, we ought aggressively to proclaim and propagate the hypothesis of Modern Scientific Socialism, which is a Constitution of Societary Order, organizing the Principles laid down for human life on earth by Jesus Christ as the full powered Representative of Divine God (John xiii. 3), towards the Object expressly indicated by Him, namely the Common Good of Humanity, working in mutual Co-operation, and thankful acknowledgment of the Goodness of God who made the Earth through which all human means of life so obviously and undeniably come.

II.

To advance this propaganda, which in the most positive and real sense is a preaching and a propagation of the Gospel of Christ, we should use to the utmost our existing "religious" Organizations—church congregations, Sunday schools, and all other educational mediums or social and philanthropic arrangements available within our respective spheres of influence.

We should search the Divine Word so that we may utter our propaganda "with authority;" for there we may learn that Modern Scientific Socialism, deduced from the first-principles of common sense and the natural laws of "things that are seen," is positively in line with the revealed Will of God, and thus specifically has Divine Sanction as holy, just, and good, although it necessitates the ABOLISHMENT of the existing "institution" of private property and the "law" of the wage-contract; which two Societary Principles have always and everywhere and in everything been the Evil Fountain from which the Class-struggle in all its murderous, larcenous and adulterous forms has, through the range of historic time, issued and will issue until these principles and their product are abolished from the plane of Civil Law and Societary Practice.

III.

AND, believing that Scientific Socialism when realized upon the above indicated Divine Constitutional Basis, (and we have the promise of God through Jesus Christ that it shall be so), will embody the Divinely intended RELIGION OF THE UNIVERSE, (the relief of human necessity being the only true worship of Divine God—Mat. xxv. 31-46.), and its result of a Pure Democracy of the Human Race in Civil Order, will secure the just and wholesome administration of earth's products, reaped and prepared for human use by unlaborious co-operative organization of industry; thus realizing, in full abundance, the "life"—moral, intellectual and physical—hitherto sought in vain, individualistically, through private property and the wage-contract (as to the physical), and implored—also in vain, Mat. xv. 9.—under the thories of contending creeds: THEREFORE, in our Christian propagation of this GOSPEL OF THE COMMON GOOD we will refrain from in any way "sectionalizing" its Universal Truth (Mat. xxiv. 17.), recognizing that in the present crisis of transition, such, in this connection, would be worse than profitless. In the Unity thus established Christian Fellowship and Social Comradeship will be terms without distinction for that Divine Principle which, THERETOFORE UNKNOWN IN THIS WORLD SINCE TIME WAS, Jesus Christ revealed to man (John xiii. 34.), and Paul coined a word to express in the language in which Jesus' words were destined to be fundamentally recorded, AGAPE: "That which regimentates and leads to victory"—THE SOCIALISTIC SPIRIT!

The Confidence of a Socialist

BY REV. JAMES L. SMILEY, ANNAPOLIS, MD., DELIVERED AT THE FIFTH GENERAL CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST FELLOWSHIP CONFERENCE.

The great fire of 1904 laid the business section of Baltimore in ruins. As I walked around the vast smoldering area, which was roped in and guarded by soldiers, I was interested to see one of my former parishioners, a young militiaman, on guard at Fayette and Liberty streets. His enthusiasm over his sudden acquisition of power was simply delicious. He watched with an eagle's eye lest any one should come within the ropes. Suddenly a gentleman appeared and attempted to enter the enclosure. With the agility of a kangaroo my young friend sprang in front of the stranger and challenged him with fixed bayonet.

The gentleman quietly smiled, and in a serene, confident manner turned the lapel of his coat to expose his badge of authority. The soldier's attitude immediately changed, and the stranger passed in.

Thus the consciousness of right always inspires with calm courage. It is this which is animating the Socialists to-day. As they view the wreckage of human society, so tremendously more pathetic than a ruinous conflagration, they are conscious of possessing the right and only method to enter upon the scene and begin the blessed work of thorough reconstruction.

To attribute this confidence to fanaticism will not stand the test of logic. Fanaticism has its limits in time, space, race and temperament. The principles of Socialism, however, are independent of time and space; no one race nor nationality, nor temperament has a patent right to this economic creed. Its adherents are everywhere.

Recently a poor Roumanian Jew visited Annapolis and grasped me by the hand as a "comrade." He was seeking work and honorably paying his way as he traveled. Unsuccessful in Annapolis, he left and finally secured farm employment at $10 a month and board. He knows by bitter experience some of the hardships under our un-Christian system of competition.

Another type is found in the person of an eminent physician of Baltimore. As a Christian and a scientist, his name stands for everything that is best. His sympathy for the oppressed, his love of fair play, impels him to Socialism. Not long since, he expressed these sentiments by presiding at a public meeting under the auspices of the Christian Socialist Fellowship.

These two diverse types—the poor Roumanian Jew and the cultured Christian surgeon—meet on the common ground of Socialism, and thus shatter the shallow charge of fanaticism. All classes, creeds and conditions are represented in this universal movement and thus prove its humanitarian essence.

Conscious of the justice of their cause, the Socialists are confident of ultimate victory, and this confidence is further strengthened by strong personal leadership. An Alexander, Caesar or Napoleon inspires his followers, even when the cause is ethically questionable. With what tremendous impulse will Socialism advance when it has found a Caesar for a captain. Already, some splendid leaders are thrilling thousands with their ringing appeals for social righteousness. Here and there, excellent administrative work is leading to substantial results. Yet there is a human yearning for some one who possesses all the qualifications of a commander-in-chief, to lead the universal crusade.

This expectation is too stupendous to be entertained by some minds. They hold that some day humanity will win, but not under one leader. Rather, they believe, that the elements of humanity will so crystallize that all will triumph together in one great brotherhood. Man will be supreme, not men.

There is but one more step toward the truth. No mortal is qualified for this world-wide leadership; neither is humanity, in the aggregate, competent. But our Maker has provided the food for our hunger, and the Leader for whom man yearns. Nineteen hundred years ago God sent His Son for this very purpose. That He came as a poor workingman and not as a capitalist is a fact of far deeper significance than many theologians have grasped. To workingmen this wonderful gospel is proclaimed, that a once-Carpenter now reigns over the kingdom of heaven. His personality is always present as a living force; it is perpetuated throughout all generations. He is the One in whom all human interests are centered; from Him as the Light of the world, all human problems are illuminated and solved. As the God-man, He will lead the right to universal victory. Those who accept Him as a personal Saviour are finding Him to be also a social Saviour. Others, recognizing His principles of social salvation, are coming to the joy of personal salvation in His name.

Thus He is "drawing all men unto Himself." His precepts are accepted by more men to-day than ever before. The human family is evidently on the eve of a great awakening when it will recognize—

"One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event,
Toward which the whole creation moves."

This is our confidence as Socialists. This is why we claim the right to enter upon the vast wreckage of humanity and to reconstruct its fallen glory.

The Church Universal is Socialistic from a "Spiritual" Standpoint

By Rev. W. B. Gallaher, Danville, Illinois

In the whole history of the Church, in and through all its past and present outward forms and names, it has been nominally one family of equally princely and royal brethren, being composed only of sons and daughters of God, from a spiritual standpoint, God being no respecter of persons.

The manifest error of the Church all through its past history is *the forced and unnatural disassociation of the temporal and the spiritual governments of God* as things vitally and essentially different in principle, which they are not, the temporal and the spiritual in the high purpose of God being meant to complement and complete each other; but not in a forced way, not by sheer might of omnipotence, which would rob this just and right concurrence of the temporal and spiritual governments of God of all moral worth and meaning and resolve the same into the most despotic absolutism.

Thus the voluntary and free concurrence of these two forms of divine government; the temporal and spiritual, logically demands the voluntary and free action of both God and man; and this in turn logically demands the necessary social and political conditions best fitted thereto.

What are these logically necessary social and political conditions? I answer *they are the recognized equality of one and all as to rights, liberties and opportunities* and the adjustment of all things involved therein by the popular will directly expressed by direct votes according to the "Initiative" and "Referendum," as already in successful operation at different points both at home and abroad.

Just as man's spiritual nature has always demanded "spiritual" Socialism, so his temporal and physical nature will always require a physical and material Socialism for its true growth.

A Socialistic Marching Song

Another of John Spargo's stirring songs which appears in the Fifth Edition of Moyer's Songs of Socialism, music by Moyer. The book is now better than ever and has no rival in the English language. 128 pages of inspiring words and music for only 15c in paper cover, 8 copies for $1. In beautiful crimson cloth cover, only 25c; five copies for $1; twelve copies for $2.25. Get one and get your branch to order some.

THE PEOPLE'S HOUR, by George Howard Gibson. 137 pages of original poetry and choice prose selections. Every sympathizer with the common people should have this book. Price $1.00.

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Advertising Shut Out

Owing to lack of room and owing to the difficulty of shielding our readers from fraudulent advertising, we have decided to banish all commercial advertising from the Christian Socialist at present. Advertisements which the church papers take and which we supposed were all right have been severely criticized by a few of our readers. *We congratulate them upon their keen sense of right.* We will keep all commercial advertising out if possible, but this means that our readers must make up what we miss from advertising by working all the harder for subs. We have no financial margin, but a deficit. THE WHOLE SECRET OF SUCCESS LIES IN MORE SUBS. Give us the money for new subscribers and we will give you a better paper all the time. We have always refused far more advertising than we have printed. We have been very careful. And unless we get a large increase of subs we will have to accept advertising again. Advertisement of books and such things as are in line with our main work will be continued.

IF YOU KNOW A GOOD THING WHEN YOU SEE IT, you will know that this June 1 Christian Socialist is a great propaganda number. Dr. Bliss' article alone is worth ten times the price of the paper, besides the other fine things. Order a big bundle and use them for the cause. Hand them to your acquaintances or pass them to the people who come from church on Sunday morning. Only one cent per copy in bundles, $4 for 500, $7.50 for 1,000.

"The Protestant churches are serving the classes and not the masses of the people. They have more regard for pew rents than for souls." Thus saith Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton College. The statement is too broad, but not too deep. It is true of many churches, but not of all. However, it is worthy to make sane Christians think more seriously than ever of the relation of the church to social conditions.

Should Socialists traveling abroad give tips? This is not a matter of taste or choice, as some untraveled people seem to imagine; it is a question of being able to get food and lodging. The hotel and restaurant workers of Europe do not receive regular wages. They must depend upon tips for their livelihood, and the traveler who does not tip will not get served. This is both custom and law. A traveler's baggage is liable in Europe if he does not tip as legally as if he did not pay his room rent. It is a very foolish, unjust and exasperating system; but the traveler is not responsible for it—he is the victim. If he does not pay the servants at least ten per cent of the total amount of his bill he is invariably treated with contempt and may be arrested. If the servants knew in advance that he would not tip, he would get no attention whatever. Therefore, both for the servants' sake and his own, he is compelled to tip.

The Appeal Club Rate

Until further notice we will furnish the world famous *Appeal to Reason* and the Christian Socialist, both one year for the price of one—50c.

Shall This Paper Live or Die?

For nearly seven years The Christian Socialist has struggled against great odds and, with the financial help of a few comrades and the loyal labors of many sub-getters, it has lived thus far and done heroic, necessary work, and INCREASED ITS CIRCULATION EVERY YEAR. During the greater part of these seven years the editor worked without pay, and all the contributing editors have donated their writings.

THE STRUGGLES OF A SOCIALIST PAPER FOR LIFE ARE TERRIBLE and we must have your help or the paper can not live. In the effort to sustain a weekly paper in order to do our work properly, we will need your help more than ever.

AND WE MUST HAVE YOUR HELP NOW ESPECIALLY to enable the paper to live through this year and to give it a start for the new year.

THERE ARE MANY WAYS A PERSON MAY HELP. Please decide which way is yours and GET BUSY NOW.

1. Some can get subs. This is the most important work of all.

2. Some can buy sub-cards and give them to hopeful people. Five dollars buys twenty subcards. Two dollars buys five.

3. Some can send a donation of from $1 to $100. It is needed badly to raise a fund for the weekly and to pay debts.

4. Some can send a regular amount each month. You pay regularly to church, or party, or lodge—why not regularly support The Christian Socialist, which reaches more people and does more good than any church?

5. Some can deed productive property, lands, houses, etc., to help sustain this great work. Write us about this.

6. Some can get their lives insured in behalf of this paper. A fine idea.

7. Some can make bequests of money or property in their wills. Hundreds and thousands of people should do so, for THIS PAPER SHOULD BE ENDOWED LIKE A COLLEGE.

8. Some can now advance hundreds or thousands of dollars on the annuity plan, we paying interest as an annuity until their death, then retaining the principal.

BRETHREN, WE CAN NOT MAKE "BRICKS WITHOUT STRAW"—let us have the money to make this paper the best in America, indeed, as many say it is now. With money we can get the writers and pay the other bills to make this paper great and glorious, and "terrible as an army with banners."

WE BELIEVE YOU WILL GIVE THE MONEY. In this faith we march onward. Please do not delay.

The Weekly Christian Socialist

I inclose an express order for $1.25 to pay my subscription from August to January, and also to pay for a year of the weekly. I am glad to learn that you have concluded to publish the paper once a week. We cannot get it too often.—W. G. Sprague, Flushing, Mich.

We publish the above letter as a sample for all to imitate and to honor Comrade Sprague for being the very first to subscribe for the Weekly Christian Socialist *from* January, 1911, to January, 1912. THE YEAR 1911—ONLY SEVEN MONTHS AWAY—WILL BE MOMENTOUS IN THE HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, preceding the national election of 1912. The Christian Socialist as a Weekly will have a large part in that year of preparation, 1911, and in the great campaign of 1912. The Weekly must succeed.

Only one dissenting voice has so far been heard against making the Christian Socialist a weekly. This comrade's objection is based upon the necessary increase of price. This is the only objection we could ever think of, and we have considered it for years.

To offset it comes the imperative need of a Christian Socialist that can afford space for Socialist Sunday school lessons, for general socialist Bible studies, and for other essential matter besides the main propaganda articles.

Moreover, a weekly at $1 per year will be CHEAPER than a semi-monthly at 50c, not only because *there are four more than twice as many issues*, but because it will be worth far more on account of its improved contents and because of club rates, which will greatly reduce the price to all who work for the paper, or who buy subcards to give away. A six months subcard for the weekly will actually be worth more than a yearly is now, for it will bring *two more* papers and *better* papers, and bring them *quicker*. The weekly will convert people more rapidly—and WE NEED TO HURRY.

MANY PEOPLE SEEM HAPPY OVER THE ANNOUNCEMENT. Now we urge you to translate your pleasure into earnest efforts to get sub-lists.

THE PRICE REMAINS 50C PER YEAR, WITH ALL CLUB PRIVILEGES, UNTIL JAN. 1. Get yearly subs at 50c. We will pro rate them on the weekly lists with perfect equity and more. Five subcards yet for $2. Twenty subcards for $5. Seven months and a half—from May 15 to Jan. 1—for only 25c.

"WORK FOR THE DAY IS DAWNING." Send in a fine list of subs this week.

Signs of the Times

Archbishop Sees War—Says Poor Are Desperate

Archbishop John J. Glennon declares there are in St. Louis "a group of twenty millionaires who hold most of the wealth of the city, and 700,000 working people, SLAVES, who are herded in squalid, insanitary tenements, who are able to give those dependent on them a bare living. These civic conditions have driven the poor of our cities to desperation. The situation portends a revolution, a bloody revolt against such a state of affairs. Steps must be taken to anticipate such a crisis."

We would advise the archbishop and all others to study Socialism. It is the way of peace.

Governor Hadley of Missouri, seconding Archbishop Glennon's talk, said: "To-day four-fifths of the American people do not make in excess of $500 per year. *One-tenth do not get enough to eat.*"

What will you do about it, gentlemen? What answer when these four-fifths demand a fair and comfortable living? There is only one possible answer. Let the people collectively own the national resources and all the means by which they produce and distribute wealth. Yes, that will be Socialism; but you can never build general prosperity upon exploitation. The poor ye capitalist Judases will always have with you. "Neither was there any among them that lacked" was spoken of apostolic communism, not modern capitalism. Competition must give way to co-operation, to collectivism, before mankind can be saved from want and slavery.

Unitarians and United Presbyterians Waking Up

A lively debate on the proper relation of the church toward Socialism occurred at the Unitarian National Conference at Boston May 26, in which Rev. John Hayes Holmes of New York, Rev. T. W. Casson of Boston, and Rev. Wm. T. Brown of Salt Lake City declared they would unhesitatingly leave the church rather than give up Socialism. Sure. What else could they do? Resolutions were adopted urging the Unitarian Denomination to take some action on the great social question.

The Allegheny Presbytery of the United Presbyterian church sent a memorial to the General Assembly of the church, in session at Philadelphia, declaring that the working classes are growing resentful of the attitude of the churches respecting capital and labor and urging the church to take action in behalf of labor.

Thank the Lord the religious pot begins to boil with the fire of Socialism. The churches are waking up.

Comrades, help the Christian Socialist to put more fuel on the fire!

Fair Play

The bankers of Milwaukee have been seeking to tie the hands of the recently elected Socialist administration in that city. They sent letters to the mayor stating that since his program of social improvement would demand large expenditures, they desired to know his policy toward business and proper interests before any bids were asked on municipal bonds. The mayor very properly refused to take any notice of these communications. He also began to get letters from trade unions all over the country, stating that their funds were available for investment in Milwaukee bonds, if local capital was refused. The country is interested in watching the Milwaukee experiment. Also, it believes in fair play. The Wisconsin bankers will only help the Socialists by persisting in their unfair and unpatriotic attitude.—The Northwestern Christian Advocate.

The able and kindly editor of *The Interior* obviously nods in his chair and dreams strange dreams sometimes. He says:

"The fundamental claim of Socialism for itself is that it will transform men out of selfishness and meanness into generosity and justice—that it will eliminate occasion and motive for wrong-doing between man and man. But it doesn't do that now among its own profoundest devotees. Socialism is constantly torn with internal bickerings—complaints and counter complaints of gross unfairness among brothers of the same cult. * * * Just as Christianity gets itself believed only where it actually produces honor and kindness among men, so Socialism may hope to gain adherents only if it brings forth fruit agreeable to its professions of brotherhood and comradeship."

By this one might suppose that the learned editor of *The Interior* regards the Socialist movement as a sort of esoteric society for spiritual improvement and boneless sentimentality, and imagines that So-

cialists claim or think that they have Socialism now! What Socialism will ultimately do for mankind we can not fully declare, for Socialism, like Christianity, "has never yet been tried."

It is a fine piece of naive audacity for a minister to condemn Socialists for disagreeing, remembering the thousand and one hostile sects into which Christianity is divided and the incessant unpleasantness that makes innumerable local churches anything but the ante-chambers of heaven. The simple fact is that people can neither be true Socialists nor true Christians under the rule of mammon—and the Socialists, at least, are wise enough to realize the fact.

As no sane man can pretend that we have Socialism now, the quarrelsomeness of Socialists can no more be charged to Socialism than the quarrelsomeness of Christians can be charged to Christianity. And in the struggle to find the right way to obtain Socialism most rapidly it is not strange that men whose minds and souls have been poisoned and stunted and made suspicious and uncharitable by capitalism should quarrel. Wait till we have Socialism, brother, before you demand the fruits thereof.

This brings to mind the petulent and silly remark of a publisher who said, with a tone of biting sarcasm: "I notice that Socialists want the cheapest rates for printing, just the same as other folks." He failed to realize that merely to be in favor of Socialism does not fill one's pockets with money, nor remove him from the competitive market of capitalism. A socialist can not afford to pay higher for a book than he can sell it for, any more than a capitalist agent can. But the Socialist works and talks and votes to destroy the wicked profit system —which marks his superior intelligence and character.

Current Literature

THE HISTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES, by Morris Hillquit, is a comprehensive and valuable work, marred by some glaring defects. What was once half-seriously said of a certain noted lecturer we may repeat concerning this Historical effort of Hillquit's: "If it makes as many mistakes about what we do not know as it does concerning matters with which we are familiar, it is exceedingly unreliable." We refer particularly to the small space given in a 380 page book to the work of Christian Socialists and to the grave misstatements contained in the space used. When one remembers the brave, persistent efforts of Bliss and Gronlund twenty-five years ago, with the labors of other New York and Boston comrades, who helped them publish *The Dawn;* when one thinks of the lectures and literary works of Rev. F. M. Sprague and Rev. Charles H. Vail, not forgetting the effective labors of Rev. George D. Herron and Rev. J. Stitt Wilson with *The Social Crusader* and their several books, and when one considers that for seven years the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST has been circulating by the tens and hundreds of thousands through the land, that its editor has delivered thousands of Socialist lectures in America, hundreds of them in churches, while other ministers by the hundred have been lifting their voices in the pulpits and on the platform for the same Cause, and that the Fifth General Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship has just been sucessfully held, one might expect to find a little more notice of the vital and far-reaching element of Christian Socialism. Also from a book that claims to be up-to-date and in any wise reliable, we hardly expected to "discover" that the Christian Socialist Fellowship had "reorganized and adopted the name of the Christian Socialist League" and that the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST (?), *the Christian Bugle* (?) and "*the Beacon*" (?) are organs of the League! Comrade Hillquit was so careless that he did not even get the correct name of the little paper from which he copied the above mis-information, for there is no such Christian Socialist paper as "the Beacon," and he did not even copy the mis-information correctly, for even "the Beacon" did not state that the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST and *the Bugle* (now suspended) were connected with the League. But one must remember that Comrade Hillquit is less reliable concerning Christian Socialism and Christian Socialists than almost anything else. It was his egregious misstatement at the last National Convention of the Socialist Party to the effect that "90 per cent of the Socialists are atheists," a statement which he declares he did not make (or at least did not intend to make) that was quoted far and wide by magazines in general and by Catholic papers in particular and which did the cause of Socialism inestimable harm. The statement—which we know he did make—was ten thousand miles from the truth —thanks largely to the activities of the very Christian Socialists which his History ignores or passes contemptuously by with a scant two and one-half pages in a 380 page book. If he, or any one else, ever wishes to write a correct and fair "History of Socialism in the United States," he should not so unreasonably fail to record the manifold efforts of the Christian Socialists—and he ought not to close the volume until he has carefully consulted W. D. P. Bliss, Rufus W. Weeks, F. M. Sprague, Charles H. Vail, George Willis Cooke, J. Stitt Wilson, W. A. Smith, E. E. Carr, and many others; for the Christian Socialists have had far more to do with making the American Socialist movement than Comrade Hillquit seems to know. They have stumped every State in the Union, written some of the greatest books, conducted several papers, written largely for the general press and been loyal and active in thousands of Socialist locals. And when the next edition of Hillquit's book comes out we hope that in this regard he will correct the blunders and supply the vast omissions of his present work. History may be "a fiction agreed upon," but we will never agree with the fiction Hillquit presents on American Christian Socialism. Even as fiction his effort is hopelessly inadequate, for the struggles of the Christian Socialists of America afford materials for hundreds of thrilling romances.

It cannot be denied that the defects above mentioned tend to throw doubt upon the historic value of the whole book; yet, in the main, the work seems scholarly, painstaking and conscientious. It gives extensive account of the various Utopian movements which preceded the present American Socialist movement, astonishing the layman with the number of comparatively successful communistic and other co-operative efforts described. It gives graphic account of the various labor troubles which resulted in the growth of the Socialist Labor Party, describes the rise and decline of that party, tells of the Haymarket riots, the A. R. U. strike, the rise of the various factions that united in the present Socialist Party, and details the main features of more recent Socialist progress. With all its faults, it is the best history of American Socialism yet written. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York. $1.60 postpaid.

Miss Selina Lue

Not so much a novel as a beautiful, delightful, heart-melting, word-picture and character-sketch, "MISS SELINA LUE"* will prove a delicious treat to all who are qualified to appreciate the simplest, purest, surest values of life. Especially will the book delight those who found pleasure and profit in the author's other quaint story, "MRS. WIGGS OF THE CABBAGE PATCH." It is equally quaint, more witty and of higher moral tone. And besides, it contains a piquant, entrancing love-story, full of thorns and roses. Beginning in the tears of terrified childhood, the story runs like a crystal country stream through homely griefs and pleasures until it ends in the smiles and tears of the heroine's unselfish, honest joy, and leaves the reader's heart flowing in tender sympathy unashamed. The book will amuse, rejoice and purify the mind of any normal man or woman. Such books are a priceless blessing.

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*MISS SELINA LUE AND THE SOAP-BOX BABIES. By Maria Thompson Daviess. Published by The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis. $1.50.

Take a New Hold

My grandfather, himself from Erin's Emerald Isle, used to tell the story of two credulous Irishmen, "fresh from the ould sod," who saw the bright reflection of the moon in the river, and, being told that it was a piece of cheese fallen from the moon above, determined to have it. One of them held fast to the bridge above while the other slid carefully down his body and clung to his feet, reaching for the elusive reflection in the water.

His arms aching with the strain and his hands beginning to relax, the green Irishman above shouted to the one below: "Hold tight, Jamie, while I let go to spit on me hands and take a new holt." The lower Irishman "held tight," but when the upper one "let go" they both fell into the water—and scrambled out, crestfallen and drenched, without the cheese.

The CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST comrades are not going to "let go" and fall into the river of humiliation and defeat. But they ARE going to "take a new holt" and win the greatest victory they ever won. DON'T YOU WANT TO BE IN THE BATTLE TO AID IN THIS VICTORY? Come on, then. Take hold and help get the biggest lot of subs this month we ever had. It is easy if you try in a manner worth while.

First Prize Winners

Names of the winners of the first five prizes in the contest for fortnight ending May 25, 1910:

	Subscribers.
W. C. Weaver, Eastside, Ore.	8
Merlin E. Valleau, Lansing, Mich.	6
H. T. Stewart; Sharon, Pa.	6
Anna M. Davis, Montrose, Kan.	5
Thomas Griffith, Taylor, Pa.	5

Second Prize Winners

R. A. Hollar, Williston, N. D.	5
J. I. Meek, Newlin, Texas	5
H. Redick, Pittsburg, Pa.	5
J. H. Carstater, Mill Hall, Pa.	5
W. A. Murray, Syracuse, N. Y.	5

The winners must write stating what books they desire as per the following offer:

Those who send the five largest clubs any fortnight may have choice of Mills' "Struggle for Existence," or any $2 worth of books published by the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST (the Co-Operative Printing Co.), or any $2 worth of books published by Kerr & Co. (such as "Capital," "The Ancient Lowly," etc.), or FOURTEEN COPIES of Moyer's Songs of Socialism (with music), or any $1.50 book listed in this paper published by a capitalist house.

The second five highest clubs bring as a reward Kutter's great book, "They Must," or any other $1 worth of books published by the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, or any $1 worth of books published by Kerr & Co. (such as Vail's "Principles of Scientific Socialism," etc.), or SEVEN COPIES of Moyer's Songs of Socialism (with music).

Twenty Sub Cards for $5.00

Those purchasing twenty or more sub cards since last report: A. J. Pangburn, Schenectady, N. Y.; C. R. Dennison, Youngstown, Ohio; J. M. Cline, Ector, Texas.

THE WAY TO CONVERT PEOPLE TO SOCIALISM is to get them to read the Christian Socialist. See our prize offers for subs and DON'T BE A SHIRKER. Be a WORKER.

Donations Received

Donations received on the deficit since last report:

Samuel Y. Perce, Radersburg, Mont.	$1.25
I. M. Fitzpatrick, Star City, Canada	.50
Wm. Bryan, San Diego, Cal.	.15
A. Reader, Little Falls, N. J.	.75
Wm. Lusink, Rochester, N. Y.	.50
Theodore Willsea, Cleveland, Ohio	1.00
	$4.15
For sending out copies of the Christian Special since last report: Watson King, Kirwin, Kan.	1.00
For sending copies to the Swedenborgians: J. C. Winchell, Center, Colo.	20.00
For the fund to finance the Weekly C. S.: J. W. Murphy, Murphy, Iowa	1.85
Total	$27.00

Socialist Cartoon

Capitalism, the Deadly Upas Tree Which Blights the Whole World, our great, startling, convincing cartoon where the Tree, the Devil, the Preacher and the Socialist figure, is just the medicine for temperance men at this time. It shows how all evils root in the profit system. It appears in our famous Temperance Special, along with some of the most interesting and convincing articles you ever read. One cent per copy in bundles, $4 for 500, $7.50 for 1,000.

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The Christian Socialist FELLOWSHIP

General Secretary
REV. W. A. WARD, 5623 Drexel Ave., Chicago

General Treasurer
HARVEY P. MOYER, 5408 Drexel Ave., Chicago

General Executive Committee
of Twenty-five Members

General Secretary's Address

General Secretary, Rev. Wm. A. Ward, may be addressed enroute as follows: June 1 to 4, General Delivery, Providence, R. I.; June 5, General Delivery, Greenfield, Mass.; June 8, Commonwealth Hotel, Boston, Mass.; June 12, Continental Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.; June 15, Columbia Hotel, Harrisburg, Pa.

The General Secretary writes that it was impossible, for lack of time, to furnish his news items for this issue. They will appear in our next.

Financial Statement Christian Socialist Fellowship

April 1910.

Receipts:				
Cash on hand, April 1, Gen. Sec.	$ 0.46			
Cash on hand, April 1, Gen. Treas.	83.40		$83.86	
On April offering, balance Gen. Treas....			19.70	
Dues, Centers	12.50			
Dues at large	10.35	22.85		
Literature		1.80		
Subs, C. S.		13.00		
Supplies		2.10		
Contributions		5.00	44.75	
Lectures, Gen. Sec....		113.98	113.98	$262.29
Expenditures:				
Postage, M. O.'s, Tel..		10.76		
Office sundries		.25		
Sub cards, C. S.		5.00	16.01	
Traveling expenses, Gen. Sec.		104.86		
Salary, Gen. Secretary.		10.00		
On back salary, Gen. Secretary		40.00	244.86	
			$260.87	
Balance in Secretary's office	.42			
Balance in Treasurer's office	1.00		1.42	262.29

Amount due General Secretary, back salary..$68.00

Rev. Wm. A. Ward, General Secretary.
Harvey P. Moyer, General Treasurer.

Application Blank.

Read the following articles of the Constitution:

ARTICLE I—NAME.

The name of this organization shall be the Christion Socialist Fellowship.

ARTICLE II—OBJECTS.

Realizing that the social message of Jesus applied in an age of machine production means Socialism, we declare the object of our Fellowship to be:

To proclaim Socialism to Churches and other religious organizations; to show the necessity of Socialism to the complete triumph of Christianity; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial and political democracy, and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood—the Kingdom of God on earth.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 1. Its members shall be active and associate.

Sec. 2. Its active members shall consist of those who are both Christians and Socialists, who shall agree to the objects as stated in Article II, be duly elected, be governed by the Constitution and By-Laws and pay dues (15 cents per month).*

Sec. 3. Its associate members shall be those who are in sympathy with the purposes of the Fellowship and shall be duly elected. They shall have the privilege of a voice, but no vote.

Agreeing with the objects of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, I hereby apply for................. membership. (active or associate)

Name .. ..

Address ....

Occupation .. ..

*Applicants are requested to pay dues six months or a year in advance, if convenient.

The Beef Diet for Consumptives

The best results are secured from the beef and hot water diet by dieting the patient for twenty-four hours, accompanying this by giving one-half pint of hot water four times daily, to wash out stomach, intestines, kidneys, etc. Follow with giving four ounces of lean, broiled beef each meal and continue drinking the hot water, not less than one hour before each meal, and not less than half an hour before retiring for the night. Increase the quantity of beef to be eaten, as indications show it to be all assimilated, and increase the quantity of hot water until one pint is drunk before each meal and before retiring. Never drink more at the time of eating than one-half pint of hot water, tea or coffee, the two latter without the addition of sugar, milk or cream. In the treatment of this and kindred diseases, sugar and sweets in all forms are to be strictly avoided. No other food should be consumed until patient shows marked signs of improvement, and vegetables of all sorts must be tabooed entirely.

If the instructions given are faithfully followed, the patient should within a few weeks be able to increase the amount of beef eaten up to one and one and a half pounds a day, and within three months extend the range of diet so as to include raw or broiled oysters—two to six at a meal—with lemon juice (never vinegar), salt, pepper or sauce to taste. The brown meats of poultry and wild game; lean bits of mutton, deer, a small portion of broiled or boiled fish, together with a small stick of crisp celery may be resorted to occasionally, but the main reliance must be placed upon the broiled beef and hot water, these other foods to be taken only as relishes for an occasional meal and not in addition to the beef.—From December *Physical Culture.*

NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY GEORGE H. STROBELL,
5 Lincoln Park, Newark, N. J.

The conviction that it is rapidly coming to a choice between slavery and Socialism is rapidly gaining ground everywhere. It was expressed in the Senate speech of Senator LaFollette, warning J. P. Morgan and other trust plutes who have monopolized the railways of Massachusetts that if the people of the state are compelled "to choose between Socialism and industrial slavery there will be no question of the result."

* * *

At Herrin, Ill., the Socialists elected two school commissioners. At Pearl, Ill., the Reps. and Dems. combined to beat the Socialists, which they did by a majority of 23. "And it won't be 23 for you next time," say the Reds to the Dems.-Reps. combine.

* * *

Comrade Walter Thomas Mills is speaking in the East after a lengthy campaign in Great Britain. He told me that he had spoken about ninety times in fifty-two days. He thought that a great advance had been made both in votes and in representatives. He assured us that there had been no alliance between the Socialists and the liberal party, and that future developments pointed to a clear cut battle between them with the utmost probability of liberal conservative fusion against the Socialists. Comrade Mills spoke with all his old-time vigor and clearness. After a few weeks in this country he will visit the English-speaking colonies of Great Britain—Australia, New Zealand and the Cape Colony.

* * *

More Socialist victories: In Gas City, Kan., two councilmen were elected. At Laguna Beach, Ga., the school director was elected against both old parties combined. At Hartville, Mo., three Socialist candidates won. In Sisterville, W. Va., a city auditor was elected. In a number of other places the old parties combined and won out by narrow margins.

* * *

I had prepared a regular fusilade of comments on Milwaukee, but our editor-in-chief must have read his exchanges on his own account, and gave you all the points last issue. Keep your eye on that point of the map, or, better, send 50 cents for the Social Democratic Herald for one year. You won't need to be told anything then. I honestly think it will be worth your while to read that paper.

* * *

At Boyne, Mich., the two old parties forgot their sham battles when the workers revolted and stacked up a Labor party. They united in a so-called Citizens' party. But the Laborites elected by a majority of 220, and their whole ticket went in.

* * *

Oklahoma Socialists are making great preparations to hold summer encampments of a week's duration all over the state. The foremost speakers of the country are being invited to deliver addresses, and efforts will be made to break into the Legislature.

* * *

Prof. William Bohn, one of the ablest educators at Ann Arbor, committed lese majesty. Prof. Bohn declared his gratification at the election of the Socialist ticket in Milwaukee, whereupon the president of the university demanded that he hand in his resignation at once, which he did.

* * *

Some of the keenest political writers in Wisconsin are saying that the time has come when the two old parties in Milwaukee must combine. Good idea. That will be the beginning of the windup.

* * *

News comes from Australia—although apparently and as usual suppressed by the Associated Press—that the Labor party swept the field in the Federal elections held last week. As far as we can learn at this writing there will be a labor or socialist majority and, of course, a Socialist government. There is an absolute majority in the National Senate and but one short of a majority in the House, and it is doubtful whether the two old parties can combine compactly enough to defeat the incoming Labor administration on any issue that may be introduced in Parliament. One or more of the old party members in the House, especially where they hail from close districts and judge the temper of the country, can be swung to the Labor side.

* * *

An unofficial report from Denver says that the proposition submitted to the membership of the Western Federation of Miners regarding affiliation with the United Mine Workers and the A. F. of L. has been carried by an overwhelming majority. The accession of such a great body of straight Socialists to the A. F. of L. carries with it some problems for Comrade Gompers.

* * *

It is now evident that the wave of Syndicalism in Europe, and of "Direct Action" advocacy is falling away before the reason and common sense of Socialism. The victory in Milwaukee helped to clear the air very much. The agitation was to very good purpose. It served to arouse the socialists to the need of industrial organization, and I hope we will never go back to the indifferent policy of the past. Labor must use both of its arms, as Comrade Berger says, and the harder we work to build up the workers' industrial organization, the stronger our political organization will become.

* * *

The recently united Socialist party of France has gained 21 seats at the recent election of representatives to the Chambers and will number 76 members. The election betrayed the real weakness of the syndicalists and shows the party to be in excellent condition. The dominant party is still the coalition of radical and radical Socialists who are supporting the former Socialist, Briande, the premier. But it is safe to say that the economic conditions will force many of his supporters, who are all very near to the Socialist position, into our party in the near future.

* * *

In the recent election for members of the city council in Stockholm, Sweden, the Socialists polled 15,188 votes, the Conservatives 10,424 and the Liberals 8,240. Yet under an unjust franchise system the Conservatives hold 31 seats, the Socialists 19 and the Liberals 16.

* * *

In the municipal elections just held in a number of the towns in England the Socialists and Laborites have made steady gains. Victories are announced in Bristol, Shoreditch, Poplar, Mile End, North Burley, Acton, Barking, Willesden and other places.

* * *

Socialists in Basel, Switzerland, astonished the old parties by electing a printer judge of the Court of Appeals and a physician judge of a city court. In Rorschach they elected still another judge. Bet a million there are no injunctions over yonder.

* * *

In Sulz, Alsace, Germany, the Socialists won five out of six seats to be elected to city council. In Lanzenbielau the Reds doubled their vote and captured all to be elected. In Flensburg two Socialists were winners for the first time.

* * *

Good for Russia! By way of London Justice we learn that the central committee of the Russian Social-Democratic party voted unanimously in favor of destroying all factionalism, nationalism, etc., and that all the segregated organizations are to be merged into one great organization.

* * *

Socialists in the Parliament of Italy, who are now 44 in number, have decided to begin war upon the Sonnino ministry, which pledged reforms and is doing nothing. The party appears to be overcoming its internal differences again and in all probability will present a solid front in all contests in and out of Parliament. Even the syndicalists are getting over their anarchistic notions and their denunciations of political action are becoming less frequent. In some places the syndicalists are applying for admission to the Socialist party, but for the time being they cannot be accepted, as the party condemned the methods of syndicalism. At the special election in Imola a few days ago the Socialist candidate won the seat in Parliament formerly held by DeCosta.

* * *

At the special election for member of the British Parliament in Mid Glamargan, the Liberal candidate was supported by the Tories against the Labor party candidate, Hartshorn, a well known Socialist. The Liberals won, receiving 8,920 votes. The Labor-Socialist received 6,120 votes. The former lost over 2,700 votes despite Tory support. The district was contested for the *first* time by the workers. This is a very significant item.

* * *

Independent Labor party of Great Britain held its annual conference in London, with 350 delegates in attendance. It was voted to call a national convention of all Socialistic bodies and endeavor to establish a straightout Socialist party.

* * *

In a speech delivered in Glamorganshire last week, Keir Hardie, the leader of the Labor party in the British Parliament, referred to the expected general election which cannot long be delayed, and said that the fight for an increase of the Labor representation in the House of Commons would be pushed more vigorously in the future. The one object of an independent Labor party, he declared, was to bring the Socialists into power the moment the country wished it. He predicted that the Labor party in conjunction with the trade unionists, would one day be the governing power of the nation.

For the present only—a book of 180 pages, clearly explaining how things will be under Socialism, the Golden Rule Republic—No Utopia—and the Christian Socialist a whole year for only 60c. Get your acquaintances to buy them at once before the offer is withdrawn.